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6. "Our position is as follows:

- a. "Whether we will fight for or against anybody or against nobody will not be decided by the usurpers in Belgrade but by ourselves, and we base our position on the following: in the year 1941, when Hitler with his crony Mussolini forced us into the infamous pact, the present hangmen in Belgrade, on instructions from the Kremlin, sympathized with Berlin and Rome and agreed that the Yugoslav army of that time was to be buried.
- b. "Soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers: remember the period in the year 1941 when we were compelled to give way before the superior force of the Axis powers. At that time we committed a most fateful act when we threw away our weapons instead of fleeing into the woods with them and defending our freedom from there as did a few units in Serbia. The consequences were that we were delivered unconditionally to the mercy of the occupiers on the one hand or, on the other hand, to the well-organized Communists, and we no longer had control over our destiny.
 - 1) "Our whole sympathy during the war belonged to the Western democracies. You all remember the time when, with every available means and with reckless carelessness, we sought to rescue each American or English aviator from the German Gestapo hangmen and to bring them to safety.
 - 2) "You will also remember the period when we sabotaged everything possible so that the situation of the occupiers became almost untenable. All that for the Western world; and how did the Western world treat us in exchange? No one less than Winston Churchill himself gives us the answer to that question. He treated our king like a good-for-nothing. After all, it concerned only a Balkan prince. The great statesman replied to a prominent Englishman who had called attention to Tito's design: 'What do you care about that? Are you perhaps planning to live in the Balkans after the war?'
 - 3) "This statement of the leading English politician is quite sufficient to show us that the English particularly, whose mouths are watering, would like to use us again as fodder for cannon and gallows.
 - 4) "No, men, no more. The times are past when we were so foolish as to believe in English fair play. Remember the times when 12,000 of our brothers, fathers and relatives were delivered by English officers from Carinthia through the Karavanke tunnel directly into the hands of Tito's hangmen in spite of the protests of the whole civilized world, and these people were blown into the air by the mines of our own ruling tyrants. This was the payment for the service which we had performed for abandoned England in the year 1941.
 - 5) "Men, remember the time of the Easter celebration in 1944 when you went from prayer in the churches of Belgrade home to your families to celebrate the Easter festival. Then the Anglo-American liberators came and, senselessly, smashed the city almost completely with their bombs. The bombardment was allegedly requested and ordered by our current tyrants.
- c. "We know indeed that we can expect no liberation from the Anglo-Saxon world, to say nothing of the Russians. Therefore, we must follow the good proverb which says: 'Rely on yourself and on your horse; then God will help you.' In other words, in case of an armed conflict between Yugoslavia and any power of the East or of the West, South or of the North, the Yugoslav soldier must undertake the following measures:
 - 1) "At the first moment all political commissars and Communists in the troops are to be shot and command is to be handed over to the wisest, most experienced and reliable senior officer.
 - 2) "All soldiers should disappear into the nearest woods in organized fashion with weapons, ammunition and all materiel and employ the same tactics which we, from experience in the last war, have found to be the best.
 - 3) "Your one task in the woods is to defend yourselves and the life and property of the people in the neighboring villages insofar as possible and to that end endeavor that the whole avoids being dragged into any battles for one or another faction. Our people made such a great

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sacrifice for the cause of freedom in the last war that when the war was ended it was necessary to acquit those who had murdered their own mothers in order not to shed further blood and then only was our freedom truly and definitively lost.

- 4) "Rightly did our Bishop Stepinac hurl the truth back to the hangmen from the dock, 'We finished the Turks in 400 years; for you, 400 years won't be needed'. Let this be understood whether it suits the West or not.
 - 5) "Under this banner we must struggle for freedom ourselves: we are fighting for a right cause and right has always won the last battle. Great sacrifices will surely be necessary. We will have to perform these sacrifices. If we, however, do so, we can be sure that the future belongs to us; that at least our children, if not we ourselves, will breathe in freedom.
- d. "From the Western world we have nothing to expect. According to Tito, a short time ago, the Anglo-Americans were enfants terribles, Western imperialists, capitalistic rogues, et cetera. The expressions are well enough known to you from the recent past.
- 1) "Overnight it has turned out differently than the usurpers in Belgrade had figured it. All of a sudden these hyenas in Belgrade looked upon the West as a friend because they needed its help since the Communist economic situation was on the verge of ruin. The threats from the East had strengthened still more these efforts of Tito toward the West and overnight a miracle occurred. The great Anglo-Saxon democracies have become the best friends of tyrants. They ogle each other and between the two the greatest love has arisen. Hangman Tito has now become the greatest statesman, general and politician and they do not dare to demand even the least little concession from the bandits in Belgrade; for example, that the innocently condemned Nationalists be released from prison or that some similar concession be obtained.
 - 2) "In the West they think only of Tito's 30 reliable divisions. On account of this insane conviction, they risk everything and sacrifice even the most elementary moral principles.
 - 3) "We have nothing to expect, comrades, from such amoral politicians and statesmen except a new betrayal; the usual payment for our help. We have been betrayed by the West not only once; betrayal follows on betrayal. We shall never again risk the chance that such a thing could happen to us and, therefore, our principle shall be 'No four-power conference shall make decisions concerning our destiny. We alone will forge our destiny no matter how hard the way.'
 - 4) "Heroes to battle, but only for the holy Cross and for our freedom. Right always wins the last battle; right is on our side."

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